

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LAGOS 07699 01 OF 02 211123Z

44

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-10 EB-11 PRS-01 H-03 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 CPR-02 NEA-10 DRC-01 L-03 /086 W

----- 025299

R 210907Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1155

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LAGOS 7699

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NI, US

SUBJECT: GOWON CALL ON PRESIDENT NIXON

SUMMARY: GOWON VISITING WASHINGTON IN CAPACITY AS OAU CHAIRMAN AND THUS CAN BE EXPECTED RAISE ISSUES OF PRIMARY OAU CONCERN, NOTABLY SOUTHERN AFRICA, MIDDLE EAST AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. WHILE LITTLE HOPE GOWON CAN BE PERSUADED WE ARE RIGHT ON ISSUES WHERE HE AND OAU FEEL STRONGLY TO CONTRARY, PRESIDENT WOULD HAVE GOOD OPPORTUNITY DISCUSS AREAS OF AGREEMENT AND DEMONSTRATE FUNDAMENTAL USG INTEREST IN AFRICA AND SYMPATHY FOR OAU ASPIRATIONS, THUS ACHIEVING POSITIVE RESULTS IN TERMS OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH BOTH NIGERIA AND OAU. END SUMMARY

1. ALTHOUGH MEA AMERICA DEPT. DIRECTOR HAS RAISED QUESTION OF POSSIBLE BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS (LAGOS 7645), GENERAL GOWON WILL BE COMING TO WASHINGTON ESSENTIALLY AS OAU CHAIRMAN AND NOT, AS MEA PERMSEC IYALLA HAS MADE CLEAR, AS NIGERIA'S CHIEF OF STATE. FOR GOWON, CALL ON PRESIDENT NIXON REPRESENTS OPPORTUNITY TO STATE OAU CASE OF CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF THE COUNTRY HE SEES AS HOLDING KEY TO SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS THAT MOST PREOCCUPY AFRICANS, NOTABLY SOUTHERN AFRICA, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INCREASINGLY MIDDLE EAST. IN NIGERIAN VIEW (SHARED BY MANY OTHERS IN AFRICA), US ALONE HAS NECESSARY POWER AND WEALTH TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS -- AND, BECAUSE OF ITS HERITAGE AND DEMOCRATIC TRADITION, US IS ALSO SEEN AS HAVING MORAL RESPONSIBILITY TO TAKE LEADERSHIP IN DOING SO. GOWON WILL THUS ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON CONVINCED OF IMPORTANCE OF HIS MISSION, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LAGOS 07699 01 OF 02 211123Z

YET AT SAME TIME DUBIOUS ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR ITS SUCCESS BECAUSE

OF HIS DOUBTS ABOUT FUNDAMENTAL USG INTEREST IN AFRICA.

2. PRINCIPAL PROBLEM IN DEALING WITH GOWON WILL BE TO CONVINCE HIM THAT USG UNDERSTANDS IMPORTANCE OF ISSUES HE RAISES ON BEHALF OAU, CARES ABOUT THEM, AND IS BASICALLY SYMPATHETIC TO OAU ASPIRATIONS. PARTICULAR ISSUES INVOLVED -- SOUTHERN AFRICA, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND LIKELY MIDDLE EAST -- ARE COMPLEX ONES ON WHICH USG AND OAU VIEWS ON SPECIFIC SOLUTIONS DIVERGE SIGNIFICANTLY. SUCH POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT SHOULD NOT BE VEILED, AS WE BELIEVE GOWON WILL WELCOME AND RESPECT COMPLETELY FRANK EXPLORATION OF DIFFERENCES AND EXPLANATION OF REASONS FOR AMERICAN VIEWS. STRESS, HOWEVER, SHOULD BE PLACED TO MAXIMUM EXTENT POSSIBLE ON SHARED GOALS AND ON OUR WILLINGNESS AND DESIRE TO MAINTAIN CONTINUING DIALOGUE WITH OAU ON MEANS OF ACHIEVING THESE COMMON OBJECTIVES.

3. ON SPECIFIC ISSUES, SOUTHERN AFRICA LIKELY LOOM LARGEST IN INITIAL GOWON PRESENTATION. GOWON HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY UPSET BY ADOPTION OF BYRD AMENDMENT ON CHROME IMPORTS FROM RHODESIA, WHICH HE SEES AS US BETRAYAL OF ITS OWN PRINCIPLES. UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT FOR REPEAL EFFORT ON BYRD AMENDMENT WOULD COUNT FOR MUCH IN DISCUSSION ON THIS SUBJECT, THOUGH ACTUAL REPEAL WILL REMAIN THE FINAL TEST OF US POSITION. SIMILARLY, GOWON LIKELY BE SKEPTICAL ABOUT USG VIEWS ON EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES AND MAY SEEK ELICIT MORE FORTHCOMING US POSITION ON LIBERATION MOVEMENTS (WHOSE ROLE GOWON STRESSED IN HIS ADDRESS TO ALGIERS NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE). GOWON MAY URGE US USE ITS SA INVESTMENTS TO PRESSURE SAG FOR CHANGE IN RACIAL POLICIES. HE WILL PROBABLY NOT BELIEVE PROGRESSIVE LABOR PRACTICES BY AMERICAN FIRMS CAN HAVE SIGNIFICANT EFFECT IN THIS AREA, BUT HE MAY BE PERSUADED OF SINCERITY OF OUR INTEREST IN IMPROVING LOT OF SA BLACKS.

4. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ISSUES LIKELY RECEIVE BROADER-BRUSH TREATMENT BY GOWON, WHO WILL REFLECT VIEWS CONTAINED IN ECONOMIC DECLARATION ADOPTED BY OAU AT ADDIS ABABA SUMMIT MEETING LAST MAY. THESE VIEWS, ENUNCIATED PUBLICLY IN OAU STATEMENT OF "FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES" AT LAGOS MEETING OF OAU TRADE MINISTERS IN JULY, 1973, (LAGOS 5462) STRESSED MAINTENANCE OF STABLE, REMUNERATIVE PRICE LEVELS FOR AFRICAN EXPORTS THROUGH

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LAGOS 07699 01 OF 02 211123Z

COMMODITY AGREEMENTS AND REQUIREMENT THAT ANY TRADE PREFERENCES GRANTED TO LDCEs BY DEVELOPED COUNTRIES BE ON NON-RECIPROCAL BASIS. ALTHOUGH OAU DOES NOT YET HAVE FORMAL POSITION ON REFORM OF INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM, THE LAGOS MEETING OF AFRICAN CENTRAL BANKERS IN AUGUST 1973, SEEMINGLY CAME CLOSE TO A COMMON AFRICAN POSITION WITH STRONGEST STRESS ON NEED FOR SDR-AID LINK. NO ECONOMIST HIMSELF, GOWON WOULD DOUBTLESS BENEFIT FROM SIMILARLY BROAD-BRUSH PRESENTATION OF US POSITION ON ISSUES

INVOLVED, STRESSING TO EXTENT POSSIBLE ELEMENTS OF COMPLEMENTARITY  
WITH OAU VIEWS SINCE GOWON MAY NOT BE AWARE OF THEIR EXTENT.  
CROSBY

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LAGOS 07699 02 OF 02 211325Z

44

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-10 EB-11 PRS-01 H-03 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 CPR-02 NEA-10 DRC-01 L-03 /086 W  
----- 026342

R 210907Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1156

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LAGOS 7699

5. IN VIEW SHARPENING TONE OF OAU RESOLUTIONS ON MIDDLE EAST,  
GOWON ALSO LIKELY RAISE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT AND URGE USG TO  
USE ITS INFLUENCE TO PRESSURE ISRAEL INTO COMPROMISE SOLUTION WITH  
ARAB STATES. GOWON IS HIMSELF AWARE OF COMPLEXITIES MIDDLE EAST  
PROBLEM AS RESULT HIS SERVICE ON OAU "WISE MEN" MISSION SEVERAL  
YEARS AGO. CURRENT READING ON US VIEW OF SITUATION, ARMS SUPPLY  
TO BOTH SIDES, AND PROSPECTS FOR MOVEMENT TOWARD SETTLEMENT  
COULD BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL.

6. IN ABSENCE OAU POSITION ON SUBJECT, RELATED ENERGY PROBLEMS  
NOT LIKELY BE BROUGHT UP DIRECTLY BY GOWON, DESPITE RECENT PRESS  
AND RADIO EDITORIALS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA SUPPORTING USE OF OIL  
AS POLITICAL WEAPON IN ARAB-ISRAELI STRUGGLE. GOWON AND FMG WISH  
KEEP OIL AND POLITICS SEPARATE IN ORDER MAINTAIN UNIMPAIRED  
REVENUE FLOW.

7. IN SUM, GOWON PROBABLY CANNOT BE PERSUADED THAT WE  
ARE RIGHT ON ISSUES WHERE HE AND OAU STRONGLY OPPOSE OUR  
POSITION. NEVERTHELESS, VISIT CAN MAKE POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION IF  
GOWON CAN BE CONVINCED WE AND OAU BOTH SEEK SIMILAR OBJECTIVES  
AND WE HAVE FUNDAMENTAL INTEREST IN AFRICA AND GENUINE SYMPATHY  
FOR AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS. GOWON'S BASICALLY FRIENDLY OUTLOOK  
TOWARD US AND HIS UNDERLYING PRAGMATISM SUGGEST HE WILL ENTER  
WHITE HOUSE PREPARED FOR FRANK, OPEN DIALOGUE WHICH CAN PRODUCE  
HFSITIVE RESULT IN TERMS OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH BOTH NIGERIA AND

OAU.  
CROSBY

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 21 SEP 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** garlanwa  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973LAGOS07699  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS CROSBY  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** LAGOS  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t19730919/aaaaantk.tel  
**Line Count:** 170  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** ACTION AF  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** garlanwa  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 09 JAN 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <09-Jan-2002 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <28-Jan-2002 by garlanwa>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** GOWON CALL ON PRESIDENT NIXON SUMMARY: GOWON VISITING WASHINGTON IN CAPACITY AS OAU CHAIRMAN  
**TAGS:** PFOR, NI, US  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005